

UNCLASSIFIED Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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ACTION ARA-15

2951

12/17/81

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NSC-05 NSAE-00 H-02 L-03 PM-09 PA-01 ICAE-00
SP-02 SPRS-02 /005 W

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R 171905Z DEC 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1297
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USCINCLANT NORVA

SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 8764

CINCSO FOR INTAFF, CINCLANT FOR POLAD

EO 12065: GDS 12/16/87 (KEANE, J.F.) DR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR
SUBJECT: (U) POLITICAL PARTIES CALL FOR DEMOCRACY AND EXPLANATION
OF FATE OF DISAPPEARED

REF: BUENOS AIRES 6542

1. (U) SUMMARY. ON DECEMBER 16, THE LOOSE GROUPING
OF FIVE PARTIES MAKING UP THE MULTIPARTY MOVEMENT
RELEASED A STATEMENT CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT FOR
THE RUINOUS STATE THEY SAY THE NATION NOW FINDS ITSELF
IN. INVOKING THE CHURCH'S CALL FOR NATIONAL RECON-
CILIATION, THE POLITICIANS PROPOSED A SERIES OF
REMEDIES BASED ON AN EARLY RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC RULE
AND EXPANSIONARY ECONOMIC POLICY. PERHAPS THE MOST
CONTROVERSIAL ASPECT OF THE STATEMENT IS A CALL FOR
CLARIFICATION OF THE FATE OF THE DISAPPEARED. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) TO NO ONE'S SURPRISE, THE "MULTIPARTIDARIA"
DOCUMENT, NEGOTIATED OUT OVER THE PAST THREE
MONTHS AND ENTITLED "BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE," BLAMES
THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR MOST OF THE NATION'S
ILLS. ITS EMPHASIS IS ON THE LACK OF PERSONAL AND
POLITICAL RIGHTS AND THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY. THE
CONCEPT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, FIRST LAUNCHED
BY THE ARGENTINE BISHOPS LAST MAY (BUENOS AIRES 5077)
THREADS ITS WAY THROUGHOUT THE STATEMENT, ASSURING
ALL AUDIENCES AT EVERY TURN THAT THE PARTIES ARE NOT
ANTI-MILITARY. THEY SAY THEY WANT TO COOPERATE
WITH THE ARMED FORCES IN DEVELOPING A PROGRAM TO
TURN THE COUNTRY AROUND; THE MILITARY HAVE A ROLE,
BUT IT IS NOT TO RULE.

3. (U) THE POLITICIANS ACCUSE THE MILITARY GOVERN-
MENT OF IMPOVERISHING THE COUNTRY TO BENEFIT
"SPECULATORS AND FOREIGN INTERESTS." THE EFFECTS
OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES, THEY ALLEGE,
ARE A DRAMATIC DECLINE IN STANDARDS OF LIVING
AND A CLIMATE IN WHICH SUBVERSION CAN AGAIN ATTRACT
ADHERENTS.

4. (U) HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MULTIPARTIDARIA POSITION FOLLOW:
A. POLITICAL ARENA. THE PARTIES DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE
RESTORATION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS AND EARLY RETURN
TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE, USING LEGAL INSTRUMENTS
ALREADY ON THE BOOKS. THEY REJECT THE GOVERNMENT'S
PLAN TO ISSUE A NEW POLITICAL PARTY STATUTE SIX
MONTHS HENCE. THEY ALSO REJECT THE POSSIBILITY
THAT THE NEXT CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT AFFORD SOME
SPECIAL FORM OF LEGAL PROTECTION FOR THE MILITARY
FROM "REVENGE" FOR PAST WRONGDOING (HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS OR CORRUPTION). WHILE APPLAUDING
THE MILITARY'S SUCCESS IN ENTERTAINING "VIOLENT
AND DEHUMANIZED OBLIVION", THE DOCUMENT SAYS THE

NATION CANNOT ACCEPT FLAT REFUSALS BY THE ARMED
FORCES TO ACCOUNT FOR THOUSANDS WHO DISAPPEARED IN
REPRESSIVE ACTIONS; "THIS LACERATING SITUATION
MAKES NECESSARY AN OFFICIAL EXPLANATION TO THE
FAMILIES AND TO THE COUNTRY (AND MAKES) INDISPEN-
SABLE THE REGULARIZATION OF THE STATUS OF PRISONERS
HELD WITHOUT TRIAL OR CONVICTION."

AQ 142

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS

Margaret P. Grafeld, Director

☒ Release ☐ Excise ☐ Deny

Exemption(s):

Declassify: ☐ In Part ☒ In Full

☐ Classify as ☐ Extend as ☐ Downgrade to
Date Declassify on Reason

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NONALIGNMENT. END COMMENT. SHLAUDAMAN

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B. ECONOMIC POLICY: THE POLITICIANS RECOMMEND A PROTECTIONIST AND EXPANSIONARY ECONOMIC POLICY, INCLUDING GENERAL WAGE INCREASES AND EXPORT PROMOTION. THEY REJECT RELIANCE ON MONETARY RESTRAINT AS THE PRINCIPAL TOOL FOR CONTROLLING INFLATION.

C. FOREIGN INVESTMENT: FOREIGN INVESTMENT IS WELCOME AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT INFRINGE ON "NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY" AND "NATIONAL CONTROL" OVER THE LEVERS OF ECONOMIC POWER.

D. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: IT IS URGED THAT ARGENTINA REMAIN IN THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT, ADVOCATING THE NAM'S ORIGINAL GOALS, AND TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH AN ECONOMIC FOCUS. THE PARTIES WOULD DISCOURAGE ARGENTINE MILITARY PARTICIPATION IN ANY INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS. THEY SUPPORT THE PAPAL MEDIATION ON THE BEAGLE DISPUTE AND INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THEY DISAGREE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF HYDROELECTRIC PROJECTS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS IN THE RIVER PLATE BASIN (PARAGUAY, BRAZIL AND URUGUAY), PREFERRING THAT ARGENTINA CONCENTRATE ON SOLELY DOMESTIC HYDRO PROJECTS.

5. COMMENT. THE POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE BEEN TRYING SINCE LATE 1980 TO BECOME THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE GOVERNMENT'S DECLINE IN PUBLIC ESTEEM. THE DOCUMENT JUST RELEASED, AS WELL AS THE MULTIPARTIDARIA ITSELF, ARE AN ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE POLITICIANS HAVE A PROGRAM AND HAVE MATURED -- THEY ARE NOT THE SQUABBLING AND IRRESPONSIBLE PEOPLE THAT BROUGHT RUIN TO THE COUNTRY IN 1973-76. IT IS HARD TO GAUGE HOW MUCH POPULAR SUPPORT THEY HAVE, BUT WE THINK IT IS GROWING, IF ONLY BY DEFAULT AS PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY GOVERNMENT PLUMMETS. WHILE LACED WITH DEMOGOGY, THE PROPOSAL IS LIKELY TO BE IMPORTANT; IT READS WELL, HAS SOME CATCHY PHRASES, AND IS GENERAL ENOUGH SO THAT ALMOST ALL THOSE WHO DISLIKE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAN USE IT AS A RALLYING POINT.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE SUBSTANCE, DEJOLINDO BITTE, VICE PRESIDENT AND NOMINAL LEADER OF THE PERONIST PARTY, ACKNOWLEDGED TO EMBOFFS ON DECEMBER 16 THAT THE REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE FATE OF THE DISAPPEARED IS LIKELY TO RAISE MILITARY EYEBROWS AND POSSIBLY ANXIETIES. NONETHELESS, THE ISSUE CANNOT BE IGNORED, HE SAID, AND THE FORM THAT THE EXPLANATION TAKES (AS FAR AS THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE CONCERNED) IS A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION. WITH RESPECT TO THE NAME, EMBOFFS POINTED OUT TO BITTE THAT IT HAD STRAYED FROM GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT. HE SAID THE MULTIPARTIDARIA AGREED, AND THAT WAS THE REASON THE DOCUMENT ADVOCATED RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES OF

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